

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## You Cannot Destroy Hitlerism By War

says

ALEXANDER MILLER

TRUE pacifism is radically opposed to Hitlerism, for the humane revulsion against war which brought the pacifist revolt into being is part of the age-long movement of revolt against the forces of society that hurt and destroy the lives of men. The pacifist who is truly in revolt against the inhumanity that breeds war desires nothing better than to get hold of weapons which will destroy Hitler's tyranny once and for all.

But he denies that war is such a weapon. He denies that for a variety of reasons:

**First:** He has been had that way before. The insurgent might of German militarism was smashed "once and for all" by war and starvation in 1918, and here it is again, starker and more terrible. We smashed the Kaiser and got Hitler. Suppose we smash Hitler; what do we get? "Hyenas?" asks the *New Statesman*.

**Second:** War makes such strange bedfellows. While France was still mobilized and confident, her spokesmen and her newspapers had already given signs that the French intention was not to relieve Germany from the stresses which produced Hitlerism, but to clap her into military servitude or split her into impotent fragments. Our own Conservative press, in the early days of the war, had already introduced us to the acceptable princes of the former ruling houses of Europe—a Hapsburg, a Hohenzollern, even a Romanoff—who are to be the visible heads of the re-constructed Europe of pre-1914, a Europe of aristocracy parasitic on big business, and grounded firmly on the peoples' backs.

Actually, of course, it can't be done: the conditions of capitalist expansion which created that Europe are gone and cannot be recovered. But it is the inability to think in any other terms that explains the failure of the Allied leaders even to begin to formulate coherent peace aims. Now that Britain fights alone with Labour in the Cabinet, the difficulty in the way of formulating peace aims is that it would inevitably break the uneasy alliance within the Government.

### Age Answers Rage

**Third:** The pacifist sees preparations going forward to match ruthlessness with ruthlessness, while the German people are lumped with the Nazi leaders as the objects of Duff Cooper's "bitter rage." When rage answers rage with the weapons of total war, even the horrors of Hitler's tyranny sink to insignificance, and the chances of salvaging freedom and social good for Europe become insignificant too.

**Fourth:** Without necessarily being a Tolstoyan, the pacifist knows that force is an efficient instrument for social order only in a limited number of cases, cases where the wrong is slight, and the force so overwhelming that it can be used with gentleness. But an evil that springs from the very heart of society itself—that is a very different matter.

You cannot exorcise by crude force a gigantic evil which, like Hitlerism, is the supreme expression of the evil principle in society itself. Such an evil can be overcome only by a powerful and contrasting good; and war, which is visibly meeting force with force, increasingly matching hate with hate, is

too much like an imitation of Hitlerism to be effective in destroying it.

**Fifth:** The pacifist perceives that the ruthless sweep of Hitler's "revolution of nihilism" is operating to bring about changes in the economic and social structure of Europe which are historically inevitable and ought long ago to have been freely chosen by the "democracies." He is therefore not satisfied to shout "We must crush Hitlerism!" if that means that an attempt is to be made to escape the historically inevitable, as well as to destroy what is of the devil.

### Alternative to War

If the alternative to war were simply to make peace with Hitlerism the choice would be a hard one, though we would still be suspicious of fighting behind leaders we can't trust, for aims we don't approve of, with weapons useless for their purpose.

But that is not the alternative to war for the pacifist. The alternative to war is to carry the struggle against Hitlerism to a deeper level, to the only level at which the struggle can be effectively waged and the issue truly settled. The assault of tyranny, whether it comes by a German invasion in the midst of total war, or in England in a vain attempt to stave off social change, can be met only by groups of men and women devoted to freedom and prepared for suffering.

Our present business is to discover, and to bind in loyalty and common understanding, all those who, because of their concern for freedom, will be bad citizens in any fascist State. They must be aware of the crisis of capitalism which makes collectivism inevitable; they must know the futility of modern war in the guarding of anything the common people value; and they must be spontaneously disciplined to do justice themselves and to fight without violence for a society of true equality.

The pacifist is not a neutral in the social struggle: he is a man trying to do his civic duty. For he knows that Hitlerism is symptomatic of a disease too deep-rooted in modern society to be dislodged by military might.

### A Pacifist Commentary

## Can The Premier Reply?

AT the time of writing Mr. Churchill has not replied to Herr Hitler's speech; but I find it impossible to believe that he will not make a reply. The speech of Lord Halifax was so trivial and so irrelevant as to be, in the judgment of competent observers, positively damaging to the British cause. It was a pathetic revelation of the incapacity of the Foreign Secretary to understand the elements of the situation with which he has to deal.

To talk to the modern world in terms of Christianity, as though Britain were fighting a Christian crusade, is to speak a language which it does not understand. In so far as organized Christianity means anything in the political world today, it is now on the other side. Two of the big Catholic countries are Fascist, the Catholics of France are certainly for the Pétain government; and no-one has ever heard that the twenty or thirty million Catholics in Germany are anything but loyal soldiers of Germany. Defending Christianity against the Roman Catholic Church is all very well as a dream, but it has nothing to do with reality.

## THE CHOICE by the Editor

IN the last few weeks, the nature of the choice now before British policy has begun to emerge into clarity. Characteristically, it is in the realm of finance that the congenial British mist has suddenly cleared. The evasions of the Budget have brought home to thousands of people something of the truth which Socialists and Pacifists have laboured in vain to inculcate for years: that war, which is the logical consequence of Capitalism, is also a vast acceleration of the inward urges of Capitalism.

The revolutionary force which is concealed within Capitalism at peace is prodigiously intensified in Capitalism at war. War is Capitalism in *excelsis*. It is other things beside that: for war is the consequence of the egoism of man. But so is Capitalism. Capitalism is the means by which man wages war under the pretence of peace. It enables him to indulge his natural egoism on a colossal scale; on the same colossal scale drives him on to war. Then comes the reckoning.

The reckoning is here; and the Government dare not face it. Sir Eric Macfadyen suspects Sir Kingsley Wood of moral cowardice. So does the whole press without distinction from *The Times* to the *Daily Herald*. And indeed the old and human tag from Ovid applies exactly to his Budget speech: "I see and approve the better way, but I follow the worse." But we wonder whether any of the innumerable critics of the Chancellor would dare to choose the better way in his position. For there are overwhelming reasons for the financial hesitation of the Government. If the sacrifices necessary to prevent inflation are imposed upon the nation, either the rich must be "soaked" as never before, or the worker must have the rise in wages which is his compensation for war taken from him. Probably both together are required to save us from the perils of inflation. But the first is absolutely essential as much on moral or on economic grounds. Unless the rich are "soaked," the worker will not submit to the tremendous sacrifice required of him.

To put it baldly, a real approach to Socialism is the condition of carrying on this war without running headlong into the social and political chaos of uncontrolled inflation. That sets before the Pacifist a choice of the nature of which he is still insufficiently aware. Which does he choose? Peace, arranged not for the sake of peace, but for the sake of avoiding Socialism; or Socialism accepted, not for the sake of social justice,

but for the sake of getting on with the war. Those are the practical alternatives today.

When those alternatives are clearly seen, and squarely faced, the Pacifist is tempted to cry, like Mercutio, "A plague on both your houses!" But he must choose. However much he belongs to a kingdom not of this world, he has an inescapable duty to act in this one. And the pacifist must choose the unworthy peace, knowing that it is unworthy; because he believes that the suffering and degradation that will be produced by a continuation of the war is the greater evil.

But let him not forget that the peace will be no peace. It will be a cessation of the external war by the ruling-class in order that their position of advantage in the internal war may be preserved. They will be mistaken. Never is the working-class less amenable to social injustice than when it has been raised out of apathy by a brief war-prosperity. And that is the situation for which the Pacifist must prepare. He must prepare to save it. It is just in so far as he is inwardly prepared to save it that his necessary complicity in an unworthy peace is redeemed.

This post-war situation will make tremendous demands on the pacifist: for the violence which has been unleashed for the external war will be probably transferred to the internal one. How many respectable Englishmen will then be Fascists without knowing that they are! They will just be defending "law and order," and probably the British constitution as well. The practice of non-violent non-co-operation will then be the natural way of those whose goal is social justice. In the post-war situation pacifists will hold the only clue to a human society. But if it is only a theory they hold, they will fail miserably. Their hope of ultimate success depends on what they are, or what they have become. If they are fuller, freer, more kindly, more imaginative human beings than they were; if they have learned a new and truer way of life; if they have ceased, in their own hearts, to care for place and position; in a word, if pacifism has taught them peace, then they will be able to lead the way.

Finally, that post-war situation is perhaps very much nearer than we imagine. It is not likely that the Government will deliberately choose inflation—for that is the short way to real anarchy. It may very well, even now, be seeking to make the best of a bad job. But not even a compromise peace can avert a social revolution. And even at the best—if all the latent genius of the British nation for the peaceful solution becomes explicit—the stresses will be such as this people has never endured before. The call on the Pacifist movement is to prevent those stresses from issuing in open violence—to show men the better way.

### NAZIDOM

From the "News Chronicle" of Friday last:

"The German public has been forbidden to listen to Nazi broadcasts from transmitting stations in German-occupied territories and controlled by the Nazi authorities, says the Dutch Anep News Agency.

"Severe penalties are threatened for violation of this new order."

From the "News Chronicle" of Thursday last:

"For telling people the wavelength of the so-called New British Broadcasting Station, which operates from Germany, William Bruce Tomkins (27), accountant, of Dysart Avenue, Kingston-on-Thames, was at the Old Bailey yesterday sentenced to six months' imprisonment."

(continued on page 2)



## A Pacifist Commentary

Europe is whether it will take this from Germany or Britain. And it may be reasonably doubted whether even this is a real choice at all in the existing situation. To ask even the friendly peoples to submit to a continuation of the war till the time comes when Britain will be able to dictate the settlement is asking too much.

### An Out of Date Aim

**M**OREOVER, every month the war is prolonged really diminishes the chance of Britain having any effective influence on the European continent. Already our diplomatic gestures begin to look pathetic. Our assurance to Bulgaria that we have every sympathy with her demand for the Dobrudja, coming immediately after Rumania's repudiation of our guarantee of her territorial integrity, is a matter for cynical commentary. Bulgaria is likely to be far more attentive to the reported Russian offer of the whole of the Dobrudja.

Here also the fact is that "democracy" in the old familiar sense is no longer a live option in Europe. That "free association of independent States" which is officially the British peace-aim for Europe, however attractive it may sound, is really an anachronism. It is what actually existed before the war; it has been tried and found wanting. Even supposing Hitler's Europe is as bad as our propaganda represents it to be, it is more in accord with modern needs than a restoration of the pre-war Europe. A *pax Germanica* is preferable to another anarchy of independent States.

### Cause and Effect

**B**UT our propaganda makes stupid mistakes. *The Times* (July 26) records, as an example of the hardships of Nazi Europe, the fact that, owing to the shortage of foodstuffs, the poultry of Holland have to be reduced to one-third. But that is precisely what has already happened in England. The English poultry-farmer, reading that report, will conclude simply that things are no worse in Holland than at home. And probably he will not be far wrong.

The difference is that the Dutch poultry-farmer will put down his hardship to the British blockade, and not to the German conquest. And again he will not be far wrong—and certainly not wrong at all if the British Government has no convincing reply to Herr Hitler.

## Women's Peace Campaign

**S**URVEY on Public Morale: The Ministry of Information is sending inquirers from house to house questioning people as to their opinion on the war. It would appear that it is chiefly the housewives who are at home to answer these questions, and it seems therefore, that women's peace campaigns might do some extremely valuable work in ensuring that the cross-section of public opinion obtained by this means should not be misleading, by calling and explaining to their fellow pacifists that we understand that if a Ministry of Information inquirer calls ("Cooper's Snoopers" as they have been nick-named), they are at liberty to say what they really think without fear of consequences. They should ask for an assurance that nothing they say will bring harm upon them and on receiving such assurance, fearlessly express their pacifist views.

**Laurence Housman:** On Sunday last Laurence Housman gave the sixth of a series of poetry and play readings organized by the Women's Peace Campaign. The committee is organizing another reading on Sunday, July 11, at 8 p.m., at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, W.I., in aid of funds of the Peace Pledge Union, when Laurence Housman will give another reading of his own plays.

## Wanted: A Statement of Aims

**N**O doubt the difficulty from the point of view of the Government about making a constructive reply to Herr Hitler is that it might easily lead to peace-negotiations. That possible consequence is from my point of view only a more urgent reason for making a constructive reply. I cannot do better than quote a sane and courageous letter from Mr. R. R. Stokes, M.P. for Ipswich, which was given prominence in *The News Chronicle* (July 25):

"It is evident that to secure the peace all the world wants both Britain and Germany will have to make concessions; Germany from the conquests she has made in this war—Britain from conquests made in past wars. It is quite time that both of us stated categorically what contribution we are prepared to make for the sake of real, lasting and guaranteed peace.

"Why not? Hitler said in his speech, 'I see no reason why this war should go on.' If he insists on what we believe to be his ends it must of course go on; but if we fail to declare our constructive peace-aims, the German people will think with equal certainty that it is because of us and not because of Hitler that the war must go on."

If that is not pure pacifism, it is the next best thing.

### America's Influence

**A**SSUMING that the Government is not simply letting the financial situation go to the devil, there are two possible explanations—and only two that I can see—of the extraordinary inadequacy of the Budget. One is that the Government has made up its mind that the war must end soon. This is the explanation I should like to believe.

The other is that it has reason to expect that the war will be financed by the United States—by prodigious cred-

its which will, of course, never be repaid. That would give U.S.A. the real control of British policy. Whether this would be a good thing or a bad, I am afraid I must leave my readers to determine; but I suspect that American influence would not at the present be on the side of peace.

### The Burma Road

**I**T was the *News Chronicle* which let the cat out of the bag with regard to our surrender in the matter of the Burma road. The Australian Minister for External Affairs declared that "the Australian point of view was the real factor in the settlement," and announced that there is to be an exchange of diplomatic representatives between Japan and Australia. In other words, Japan, finding Britain inclined to be dilatory in coming to heel, put the screw on Australia—in what particular way is not divulged. But it is easy to think of half-a-dozen, short of the threat of actual blockade.

It is one more evidence how very different the British Empire is, in its general constitution, from the general picture of it. It is not an Empire at all; but a very loose confederation of sovereign democracies—much too loose to serve as an example to the world.

### Freedom Still Lives

**T**HE best news of late has been Mr. Churchill's relegation of the "silent column" propagated by the Ministry of Information into "innocuous desuetude." Unfortunately the results of the revision of the sentences upon

the people denounced by members of the "silent column" are disappointing. Fines have been merely reduced where they ought to have been completely remitted.

But there has in general been a welcome resurgence of the spirit of democratic freedom; and though I am by this time a little sceptical of ministerial undertakings, Mr. Churchill's assurance that the Government has no intention of suppressing serious discussion of fundamental issues raised by the war is as good as I could hope for and better than I expected.

### India and Non-Violence

**T**HE Indian Congress has definitely decided, by 91 votes to 63, to depart from Gandhi's policy of non-violence in regard to external aggression and internal disorder. Twenty-six members abstained from voting, and 200 were absent.

One report states that the Working Committee, under Pandit Nehru, "while emphasizing its faith in the efficacy of non-violence, felt itself unable to commit itself for the future and could not go all the way with Mr. Gandhi." That appears highly paradoxical. If non-violence is efficacious, there is every reason to adopt it.

But probably the Pandit Nehru's words have been ill-reported. On that supposition, I conjecture that his point was that non-violence was efficacious, but only when people were spiritually prepared to practise it; and that, as Gandhi himself has repeatedly declared, the majority of the Congress movement are not so prepared.

## TWO WORLDS

**T**HERE are two worlds—one ruled by FEAR and the other by CHARITY (*caritas, supernatural love*).

The world of Fear is the world of nature—the common hedge-row is filled with vegetables "armed to the teeth" with spikes and thorns and poisons in fear of their enemies, and the hills and dales and seas and rivers and forests and jungles are inhabited by beasts whose lives are one perpetual watch for enemies. The world of CHARITY is the supernatural world in which he that loseth his life for God's sake shall find it.

The world of FEAR is the world of war—there is no other reason for warring, war-mongers are all desperately afraid. The world of CHARITY is the world of peace—peace-makers have no reason to fear what may happen to them.

The world of FEAR is the triumphant world, the world of triumphal marches and arches, and laurel wreaths. The world of CHARITY is the world which submits to the conqueror, knowing that the earthly conqueror can only conquer earthly things and earthly things only for a day.

### Armies—and Arms

The world of FEAR is the world of armies, in which every man carries a gun or a bomb and is always ready to destroy something which otherwise might destroy him. The world of CHARITY is the world of work and workers in which the only arms are men's arms and in which making things is better than breaking things and enjoying them better than destroying them.

The world of FEAR is the world of armaments. But half the fear in the world of armaments is a fake, the hypocrisy of armamenters, and the other half is manufactured by politicians. The world of CHARITY is without any passports.

The world of fear is the world of politicians and diplomacy and secret treaties and the buying and selling of promises. The world of CHARITY is

the world of anointed kings.

The world of FEAR is the world of lawyers and police and laws and prisons. The world of CHARITY is the world of custom and public opinion and forgiveness and bounty.

### Law—and the Spirit

The world of FEAR is the world of rules and regulations and the dead letter of the law. The world of CHARITY is the world quickened by the spirit.

The world of FEAR is the world of anger and violence. The world of CHARITY is the world of the meek, "the terrible meek" who shall inherit the earth.

The world of FEAR is the world of irritability, of nursemaids being cross with their charges and prime ministers with their secretaries. The world of CHARITY is the world of quiet voices and patience.

The world of FEAR is the world of solicitousness. The world of CHARITY is the world in which people do not worry about what may happen tomorrow.

The world of FEAR is the world of commerce and buying and selling and getting and spending—buying cheap and selling dear. The world of CHARITY is the world of work; for it is said, "Let him that stole steal no more, rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have something to give to him who suffers need."

### Selfish—and Selfless

The world of FEAR is the world of selfishness—"if I don't look after myself, no-one else will." The world of CHARITY is the world of selflessness.

The world of FEAR is the world of bankers and pawnbrokers and money-lenders, and stock-brokers and bill-brokers—they all live in desire of gain and in mortal dread of loss; they all yearn for "securities." The world of CHARITY is the world of barter and "the just price," a world in which money is neither "cheap" nor "dear," because it is not for sale.

The world of FEAR has produced the world of Woolworth's and big shops, big business and big dividends. The world of CHARITY is the world of small workshops and hardly any other shops—for the best people to buy from are the people who make things.

The world of FEAR is the world of riches—where thieves break through and steal. The world of CHARITY is the world of poverty. In the world of Charity the poor man is not he who

## By Eric Gill

has not been robbed, but he who has not robbed others; not he who has not been loved but he who has loved others rather than himself.

### Wealth—and Commonweal

The world of FEAR is the world of the few rich and the many poor. The world of CHARITY is the world of the common good.

The world of FEAR is one in which the rich suffer from indigestion and the poor go hungry. The world of CHARITY is the world in which "the poor shall be fed and the rich shall be merry"—a thing that never yet was since the beginning of the world.

The world of FEAR is the world of machines and "time is money." The world of CHARITY is the world of craftsmen and "whosoever shall lose his time shall find it."

The world of FEAR is the world of speed—railways, motor cars, giant ocean liners, telegraphs, telephones, aeroplanes—if we don't get there quickly we shall lose the train, lose our money, lose the job, lose the deal, lose the battle and generally miss the boat. The world of CHARITY is a slow world, as slow as a team of oxen, as slow as the procession of Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter.

### Pride and Humility

The world of FEAR is the world of pride, for a man's pride is like his castles and fortifications—things that make him feel safe. The world of CHARITY is the world of humility for he that is down needs fear no fall, he that is low no pride.

He that is humble ever shall have God to be his guide. The world of FEAR is the world of the suburbs, where everyone is afraid of what the neighbours may say—"we might be criticized." The world of CHARITY is the world where people live "over the shop."

The world of FEAR is the world of "grown up" people. Lord! How worried they are about their responsibilities! The world of CHARITY is the world of children—but childhood means being simple more than being young. Some children are older than their parents.

The world of FEAR is the world of the "intellectuals," in which no-one dares to "burn his boats." The world of CHARITY is the world of pious folk who know "in whom" they believe. The world of FEAR is the world of pharisaism and selfrighteousness. The world of CHARITY is the world of sinners.

**A NOURISHING FOOD** CADBURY'S BOURNVILLE PLAIN CHOCOLATE



# CHRISTIAN STEWARDSHIP AND COMMUNITY

The following account of their experiment has reached us from a group of Christian pacifists:—

THE members of our group have been concerned to establish relations with their fellow men on a Christian basis, endeavouring ultimately to eliminate social and economic privilege; and this instigated a study of the various forms of community.

We feel that our own service to society cannot be rendered through the medium of a "withdrawn" community (though we see that as the right medium for some Christians). Rather do we feel that we might work in conjunction with such a community. For example, by sharing some of the work of a land settlement, we might enable its members to have more leisure.

## Essentials Only

We continue to live in our own homes, and work at our ordinary occupations. Each member has made a budget based on essentials only, i.e. decent but non-luxurious food, clothing, and living accommodation, plus any tools or books, and travelling expenses &c. connected with our work.

Those who have any surplus put it into the common pool and group members share the responsibility of its administration. The group stewardship of this surplus in the service of the community at large is the heart of the scheme, and it is thus to be differentiated from one whose primary object is to level off incomes to the national average.

We feel that communal stewardship of surplus is an essential intermediate step toward the final remedy of inequalities, and for this reason we have not made the immediate surrender of our group surplus to the stewardship of others, which a "vow of poverty" would involve. This scheme, in regard to the discipline both of the stewardship and the simple living which it entails, is a vital preparation for life under conditions which must obtain after the war.

Two group members were facing the immediate problem of finding new work which they could conscientiously undertake. One was quite willing to do farm work, but wanted to make some significant contribution toward a solution of the problems of society. Now, while doing farm work, he is satisfied that his part in the group community is in the nature of such a contribution.

The other, having resigned a scientific research post when war broke out,

had finished his degree course before turning to the problem of how best to utilize his knowledge in constructive service under present conditions. Our new community has made it possible for him to offer his services to a hospital for research work on a voluntary basis, and if accepted he will draw on the group surplus for his living expenses.

We feel that the latter instance illustrates a solution of the unemployment problem that could be applied on a larger scale. For groups such as ours could sponsor jobs, and he repercussions which inevitably hamper the reabsorption of the unemployed into the industrial system might then be avoided. For jobs considered inessential by a sub-Christian society, but appearing essential to progressively-minded Christians, could then be carried out, regardless of whether they made a "profit" in the ordinary sense.

## Third Order

It will be realized that our group is constituted along the lines of the original Third Order of St. Francis, so well described in John Heyland's book *The Way of St. Francis and today*, and, as in the time of St. Francis, there are palliatives that can be adopted as short term measures. Thus we are providing some extra groceries weekly to a few people in need. It is possible to do this anonymously through our having taken into our confidence a local shopkeeper, to whom we entrusted the task of selecting the particularly necessitous cases among his customers. Also, we are contemplating the support of some child in an orphanage.

Again, first aid outfits are being made up by a pharmacist member of the group, for each member's use in case of air raids, when, as is likely, help would have to come from individuals on the spot. It is of interest to note that our common stewardship of individual surpluses means that such schemes as the last one are no longer hampered by our having to consider first the relative financial positions of group members.

Of all these group activities we must emphasize that they are "not an attempt to improve the looks of our own spiritual physiognomies" (as a friend has put it), but a desire to draw out the best in others. We wish to create the conditions in which all men will naturally come to understand something of the search for the Kingdom of God. By simple personal living we may help others to break the tyranny of an over-rigid materialism.

We have had a vision of the group operating on a small scale, and our effort now is directed toward working out its large-scale implications in relation to the problems of the present day.

## Christian Literature In Germany

IT IS a surprising and encouraging fact that since the outbreak of war good Christian theological and religious literature has been printed and in circulation in Germany. We know of this through German periodicals that have reached this country; and refugee pastors have stated that at any rate up to the outbreak of war the sale of such books was large; and that the usually exacting Nazi censorship did not as a rule interfere, if there were no obvious and critical reference to contemporary events.

At least up to April last (after which the invasion of Holland brought communication to an end) the monthly journal of the little German Quaker community was allowed to circulate in Germany in spite of some quite outspoken pacifist articles including a fine *Meditation on Peace* by Evelyn Underhill, which is now a Fellowship of Reconciliation leaflet. This was translated by a Jewish refugee and allowed by our censor to go to Holland in February.

## Unperverted Christianity

Perhaps the most striking evidence we have of the unchecked life of an unperverted German Christianity is the publication during the war of the first

## The Forethought Committee

THE Forethought Committee met at the Adelphi Centre, Langham, on July 18 and 19. The members present were Vera Brittain, Mary Gamble, Laurence Housman, Charles Raven, Max Plowman, Wilfred Wellock, John Middleton Murry and Stuart Morris. It was not thought desirable to issue an agreed and formal statement. Unfortunately, Herr Hitler's Reichstag speech was delivered after the Committee had dispersed; but the following unofficial note defines its general attitude to peace proposals at the present moment.

The PPU is committed to seek a cessation of the horrors of war at all costs. All the positive human values for which it stands are in danger of suffering damage or destruction if the war is prolonged. Nevertheless, it might well be that pacifists would have to disclaim all responsibility for, or even repudiate a certain kind of so-called "Peace." Still, the cessation of the war upon ignominious terms, or from motives which we condemn, would be preferable to a prolongation of the war. The evils of Hitlerism cannot be overcome by war or in war; peace, even an unworthy peace, is the necessary pre-condition of an effective struggle against them. But the underlying dilemma can be resolved only by making a clear distinction between cessation of war and a veritable peace, and by recognizing that the terms on which a cessation of war might be procured have no necessary connection at all with the principles of a true peace.

In considering the general situation the Committee was agreed that the only convincing answer to the "new Europe" which the Nazis are now creating was the creation of a new and better social order in Britain. But the deterioration of the human material of society by the concentration of the whole energies of the nation for war—the speeding-up of factory production, the immobilization of millions in the armed forces, the incessant propaganda, the ever-increasing restrictions on freedom of expression, the official encouragement of the common informer and of panic-stricken injustice to refugees—makes it doubtful whether a new and better social order on a large-scale can be created from such material. Society is in danger of losing both its freedom and its capacity for freedom.

This danger pacifists must try to meet not only by a wise defence of civil liberties but by developing their own spiritual resources, and extending their human contacts to the utmost. In a world maddened by fear, pacifists should be unafraid. To help them to this condition, the Committee, while recognizing that the PPU cannot be committed to any specific religious basis, recommends that groups and individuals should set apart moments for corporate and individual silence, and should recognize the need of gaining experience of what is meant by "meditation," even if they fight shy of the word.

In regard to the conduct of pacifists in the case of invasion, the Committee felt

that in such an event the situation would be so fluid and various that no specific pacifist guidance could be usefully given beyond that implied in the general principle that pacifism is a way of life. Much could obviously be done in helping to calm fears, to counteract panic, to maintain order, and to minister to those suffering in body or mind. But it was emphasized that the idea of "a technique of non-violent resistance" is apt to be misleading. Gandhi has not produced some cut-and-dried method of resisting armed invasion which the PPU is refusing to employ, as some criticisms would suggest.

In the judgment of the Committee the corporate adoption of unarmed resistance on a large scale is impracticable. The Government has already issued definite instructions as to the conduct of individuals in the case of invasion, and it appears to the Committee that the guiding principle should be compliance with these orders within the limits set by the individual conscience. Beyond this what is chiefly required is so deep a penetration by the spirit of pacifism that in any circumstances we may be able to discern and to do the thing which belongs to peace.

Vera Brittain consented to draft a letter to the Government to be signed by various people of literary distinction, expressing their concern and alarm at the rapid disappearance of freedom of expression under the impact of the Defence Regulations.

## Constructive Imagination

By JOHN BARCLAY

(P.P.U. Group Organizer)

BEING born with a vivid imagination is worth all the golden spoons in the mouths of plutocrats. I would not exchange my visions for the easy money obtainable in drab corners of city restaurants. The vision may prove to be a mirage, but even dollars cannot buy a mirage. When I hear an audience singing "Jerusalem" and watch the way they lift their heads and voices towards the end, I feel they are seeing a picture of an England in which there is neither war nor slum-children, and from which fear has been removed. The singing stops, the singer becomes self-conscious and in a few moments all that is left is the glow in a few minds and a renewed determination in a few hearts.

If only the imagination so gloriously constructive in some children could be linked with the building of real cities and homes all would be possible. I believe it to be an essential part of pacifist work to carry the faith of the dreamer and the visionary into all places where men and women foregather. If we have once seen the vision of the new world it should be possible for us to recreate it in such a way as to give others the faith and the courage to persevere. A burning faith in the possibility of a New world can destroy the worn-out faith in the Old.

We have no duty to the past—only a duty to the future. The future can only be planned and built by the imaginative ability of its builders. Millions are longing for the day to come when this future shall take shape and yet it can only come when we will it. The challenge to pacifists is clear; dare we go forward with the faith of a dream and in the light of our imaginations? Two things are necessary, a faith in ourselves and a faith in others. The Peace Pledge Union was built in faith by those who had faith in themselves and also in those who built with them.

The group system perpetuates in fellowship the ideals of the founder and each member is responsible for the successful carrying out of the whole plan. A thousand groups and twenty-thousand active workers is a pretty good guarantee of how a vision takes shape from one man's imagination over a space of four years.

The future, however, depends on us.

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100% Members Peace Pledge Union

## COs.' PAY: CUTS OPPOSED

THE National Council for Conscientious Objectors, representing the Central Board and and regional committees declares its opposition to the proposal for compulsory deduction from wages of COs in civilian employment. This resolution was adopted by the Council on Saturday.

Another resolution declared: "This meeting supports the principle of voluntary contributions by COs to social and relief purposes, but believes that by its very nature no such principle can be made the subject of a scheme and that any attempt so to apply it would be used in practice to enforce contributions from COs."

Other CO News—Page 4

## Forward Group Speaker Fined

DAVID Spreckly, a member of the PPU Forward Group, was fined £1 at Marlborough Street police court on Monday for using insulting words likely to lead to a breach of the peace.

He said that he would refuse to pay and was told that the alternative would be seven days' imprisonment. He was given time to pay.

The magistrate, Mr. J. B. Sandbach, said: "So long as you give vent to sentiments that are likely to arouse indignation among people, you have offended against the Act."

An unusually full report of the case, occupying nearly a column, appeared in the London edition of the *Daily Herald* on Tuesday

What splendid examples for us in the trials that are approaching!

S.H.



## What Does



## Stand For ?

A FULL summary of the position and activities of the Peace Pledge Union appears in this paper from time to time. As pressure on space prevents its publication every week, we hope new readers will either send for a copy of the last issue which contains it (June 21) or make sure of seeing it next time by placing a regular order for the paper.

The chief officers of the Union are:—Chairman: Dr. Alex Wood; Treasurer: Maurice L. Rowntree; Secretary: Stuart D. Morris.

Following are the present Sponsors of the P.P.U.:

Vera Brittain; George M. L. Davies; Eric Gill; Dr. A. Herbert Gray; Laurence Housman; Aldous Huxley; Storm Jameson; John Middleton Murry; Max Plowman; Lord Ponsonby; Canon Charles E. Raven; Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.; Dr. Donald O. Soper; Dame Sybil Thorndike; Wilfred Wellock; Arthur Wragg.

For further particulars write P.P.U. Headquarters, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. to which also should be sent signatures to the pledge which is the basis of membership:

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

## PEACE NEWS

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Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsements of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised.) Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

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## IT CAN BE DONE!

By JOHN W. COWLING

THERE is every reason for believing that the distribution of *Peace News* through regions and groups of the Peace Pledge Union can in a very short time become practically as swift and efficient as it used to be through the wholesale newsagents, who now refuse to handle the paper.

I write this statement after nearly a fortnight's travelling through some of the larger centres in the Midlands and Yorkshire. In each town I have discussed with those who handle the paper the three-fold task which lies before us: creating a new distributing system; regaining those readers lost to us because of the wholesalers' ban; and securing a 100% readership among PPU members.

Each of these is urgent. So far as the first is concerned, I have found some regions which had already stepped into the breach. In other places it has been possible to work out a regional scheme with representatives of the groups concerned. I am convinced this will be possible in the majority of cases.

The second and third parts of our job will take a little more time, but these also I have talked over with the local secretaries and organizers—among whom,

by the way, there is a really keen desire to make the paper as influential as possible. Members are realising the value of *Peace News* as a vital link and a source of inspiration to the movement.

For the time being other *Peace News* business has brought me back to London, but I hope to resume my travels soon, as time is precious. Before long it should be possible to report a really big rise in circulation as a counterpart to the improvements already effected in our distributing arrangements.

But ultimately this depends upon every individual member of the PPU. Without his help the work of the regional and group organizers, however keen, will be crippled. So please back them up in every way you can!

To the above report by our travelling representative we would add that a regular flow of contributions to our Fighting Fund should also accompany the other efforts to increase the influence of *Peace News*. We are glad to acknowledge donations last week totalling £27 15s 8d which brings the total to £250 15s 3d.

## C.O.s AND THEIR JOBS

### Rhondda Gives A Lead To Local Councils

RHONDDA Urban Council has refused to dismiss conscientious objectors in its employ. The Rhondda is the largest urban area in the kingdom.

When a motion for the dismissal of COs was submitted at the council's meeting on July 17, there was no seconder and the matter fell through without a vote.

### Legal Protection Against Dismissal?

To the Editor.

IN *Peace News* for July 19 you state legal opinion is that there is no legal protection for COs against dismissal before a tribunal has given them exemption. This statement is too sweeping.

The facts of each case should be considered. The National Service (Armed Forces) (Prevention of Evasions) Regulations, 1939, provide that an employer shall not terminate the employment of any person employed by him by reason of any duties or liabilities which that person is or may become liable to perform or discharge by virtue of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939. Section 5 of that Act provides that a conscientious objector may have to perform certain civilian work or non-combatant duties or, otherwise, become liable for military service. If, therefore, the employment of a CO is terminated by his employer by reason of his possible liability to comply with s.5 of the Act, the employer is guilty of an offence under the Act and is liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding £50 and an order to pay the CO up to 12 weeks' wages.

An employer's fear of incurring this penalty should afford some degree of protection to a CO employed by him. In practice it would, in most cases, be difficult to prove that the reason for the dismissal was the possible duty or liability of the CO under the Act. However, if any employer retained the services of COs over military age but dismissed those who might become liable under the Act, there would appear to be a clear infringement of the law.

G. M. WHITE.

12 High Street,  
Stevenage.

### Attitude Of "Co-ops"

Will Hayden, of 32 Lucerne Road, London, N.5, writes:—

All pacifists in the area of the London Co-operative Society should note the decision of the Management Committee to recognize the legal standing of conscientious objectors in the Society's employ. All liberal-minded people should patronize as much as possible the London "Co-op." and any such concerns which still stand by the seemingly old-fashioned ideals of freedom of opinion, democracy, etc.

Although dismissal of COs by local authorities continues elsewhere, there are other signs of a more tolerant attitude.

Thus Battersea Borough Council decided (July 17) to retain COs ordered by a tribunal to remain in their present jobs, and to pay war service allowances to those undertaking non-combatant duties.

Members of Ipswich Council walked out during a meeting (July 22) at which it was proposed that COs should be dismissed. They returned after the resolution had been defeated by 4 votes. The council then decided that objectors should be given leave for the duration of the war, unless they were recommended for non-combatant service. Those undertaking the latter will receive the customary war service allowances.

Hereford County Council is to pay COs on its staff at the rate of private's pay, plus 3s. a day for subsistence—or they will be allowed leave without pay for the duration.

Salop County Council decided on July 20 to ask COs to resign, failing which they will be dismissed, as also will employees who are members of any organization "subversive to the national cause." Sir Offley Wakeman, chairman of the Finance Committee, which made this and other recommendations, opposed them, asking why the council should go beyond the provisions made by Parliament.

### Why Ministry Appealed

QUESTIONS about two men who had refused to recognize the Military Service Act, and for whom the Ministry of Labour had applied for complete exemption, were asked in Parliament on Thursday last.

The men were Harold Mayo, of Manor Park, and A. S. Porcas, of Norbury.

Mr. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour and National Service, said:

These men were registered unconditionally as conscientious objectors by the Appellate Tribunal. The appeal to the Tribunal was made by my Department in accordance with the powers conferred by section 5 (4) of the Armed Forces Act. Whether or not the decision from which the appeal is made is in favour of the applicant it is the practice of the Department to exercise these rights of appeal in order to secure a decision from the Appellate Tribunal whenever it appears to them that a case contains features which require authoritative determination by the Tribunal. I cannot agree that the Department gave any official support for the ignoring of the law; on the contrary the action of the Department was in accordance with the procedure clearly intended by the Armed Forces Act and afforded the only means of determining authoritatively the effect of that Act in these particular cases. I understand that both men are between the ages of 21 and 23, and that Mr. Mayo, but not Mr. Porcas, is married. I have no information as to their present occupation or remuneration.

Mr. Thurtle.—Is the Minister aware that both these men said they refused to recognize the Military Service Act, and is he therefore aware that his Department, by deliberately supporting them in that attitude, is in effect supporting contempt for the law?

Mr. Bevin.—I do not accept the interpretation the hon. member places on the action of my Department. The Department took the case to the only place they could take it to get a decision where the people themselves refused to go.

Another parliamentary answer on the same day stated that 868 COs registered on condition that they take up agricultural work had found such employment up to the end of June.

### Advisory Bureaux

Following are further amendments or additions to the lists of advisory bureaux for conscientious objectors already published. Similar changes should be notified to the Central Board for COs, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and NOT to *Peace News*.

SHEFFIELD: Wilfred C. Harrison, The Cottage, Friends' Meeting House, Hartshead, Sheffield, 1.

HERTFORD: D. Riley, 24 Fanshawe Street, Hertford.

WATFORD: P. A. Leonard, Hessay, 52 Bushey Mill Lane, Watford.

Alwyn Pritchard, 33 Sandy Lane, Wallasey, is no longer secretary of the Wallasey Bureau. A. C. Hughes is no longer secretary of the Shrewsbury Bureau.

### Total Now 50,315

Conscientious objectors who registered with the 1906 class on Saturday numbered 1,795—again just over one half of one per cent. of the total who registered. They brought the total of COs so far registered to 50,315.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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### SITUATIONS Wanted

B.Sc. seeks position. Tribunal have exempted condition remain electrical engineer. Dismissed from well-known firm for views. Age 24—Box 490, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

CHRISTIAN pacifist (23) over five years' experience as Municipal Officer, dismissed on account of views desires clerical or secretarial work. Willing to accept suitable opening anywhere.—R. J. Hipperson, 16 St. Margarets Rd., Wanstead Park, E.12.

LANGUAGE mistress, fluent French, German, subsidiary English, Latin, lost post as pacifist, wants any work.—Childe, Spinney, Ghyll Road, Crowborough.

PACIFIST (20) requires situation, social or clerical; experienced; knowledge commercial art.—Leslie W. Winn, 102 Regency St., S.W.1.

### WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform. Vegetarian Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holidays or restful recuperation. Central heating, h. and c. water in bedrooms.—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock.

LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B. and B., 5s., double, 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Tel. 3572.

WYE VALLEY HOLIDAYS. Guest House and Community Crafts Centre. Vegetarian diet.—Barn House, Brockweir, Mon.

### MISCELLANEOUS

BECOME a non-smoker. Save £10-£20 per annum. Improve—and preserve—your health. Unique, drugless, infallible method.—Wainly, Course, 87 Taggart Avenue, Liverpool.

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FIRST-CLASS TYPEWRITING & duplicating.—Mabel Bryles, 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, S.E. 24. Brixton 2863.

LONDON PPU Members' meeting: Tuesday, August 13, 7.45 p.m., Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, W.1.; Councillor William C. Elliott on "Pacifists in the Labour Party."

MISS J. D. WALLINGTON (and Mrs. Helen Whitcomb), health practitioner, osteopath, bonesetter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1. (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way, North Letchworth.

PACIFIST couple (one child of two years) offers home in safe area (Berkshire, easy reach of Reading) to other young couple with one or two children, or mother with children. Expenses and nominal charge for rooms only. Furnished or unfurnished; self-contained if required.—Write Box 488, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PACIFIST PRINTER. Handbills, leaflets, programmes and general printing.—W. J. Bridgen, 239 Sellincourt Rd., London, S.W.17.

PROPOSED Pacifist Service Unit requires light van capable conversion ca. 1935.—13 Briarwood Road, Stoneleigh, Epsom.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

WANTED: unfurnished rooms for women teacher (pacifist or unfurnished room); or temporary board residence. Radius Cheshunt, Herts.—Box 489, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

### Sentence Squashed

A sentence of three months' imprisonment for "insulting behaviour whereby a breach of the peace might have been caused," passed upon Miss Marion Hamlyn, was squashed by Mr. Justice Micklethwaite when she appealed against it on Tuesday.

The charge was brought after Miss Hamlyn, a pacifist, had stood outside a Labour Exchange on a registration day with copies of a leaflet outlining the rights of COs.

The conviction stands, and Miss Hamlyn was bound over on Tuesday in the sum of £5. She had already served 13 days, but was released pending her appeal.